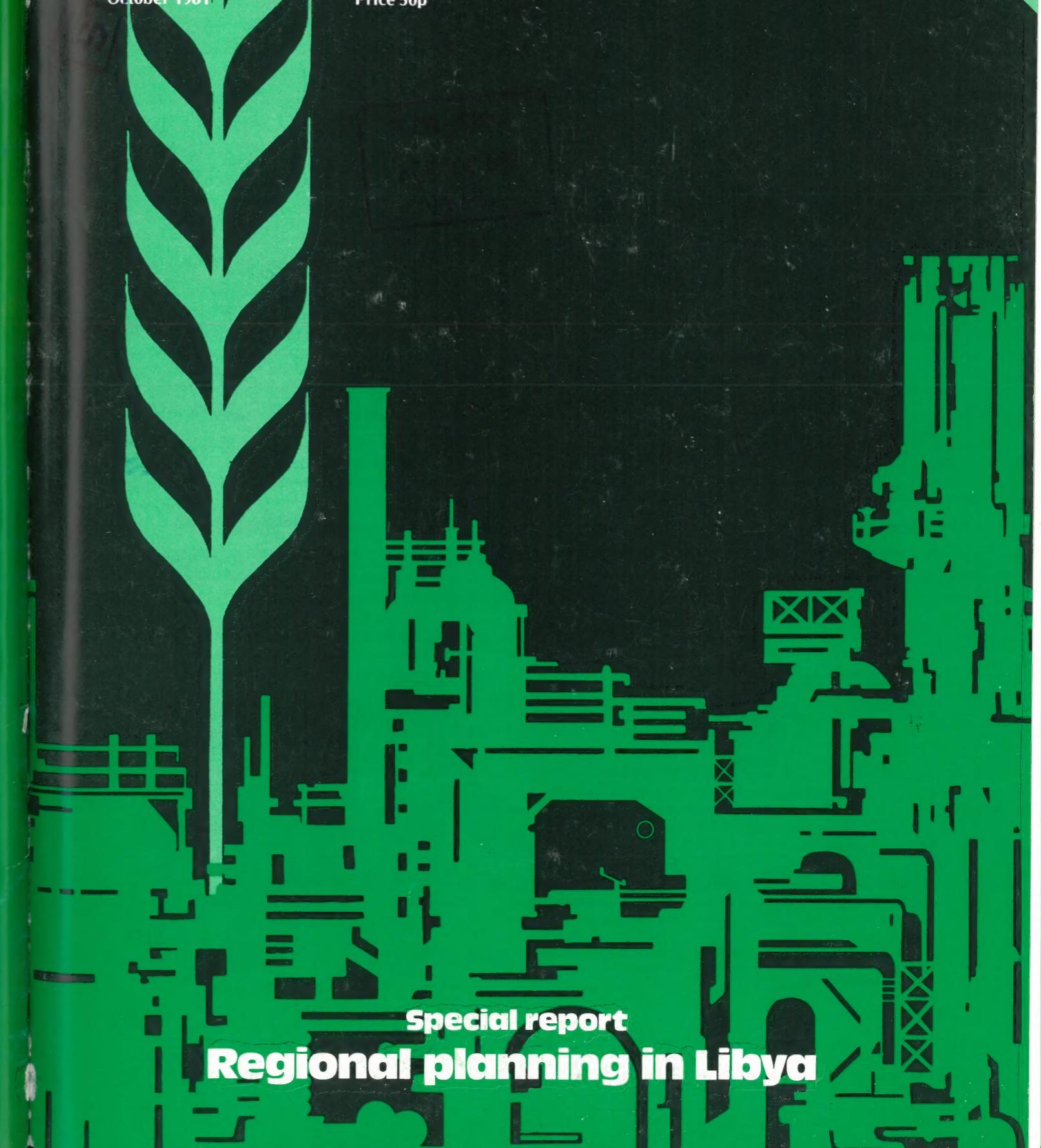


jamahiriya review

October 1981

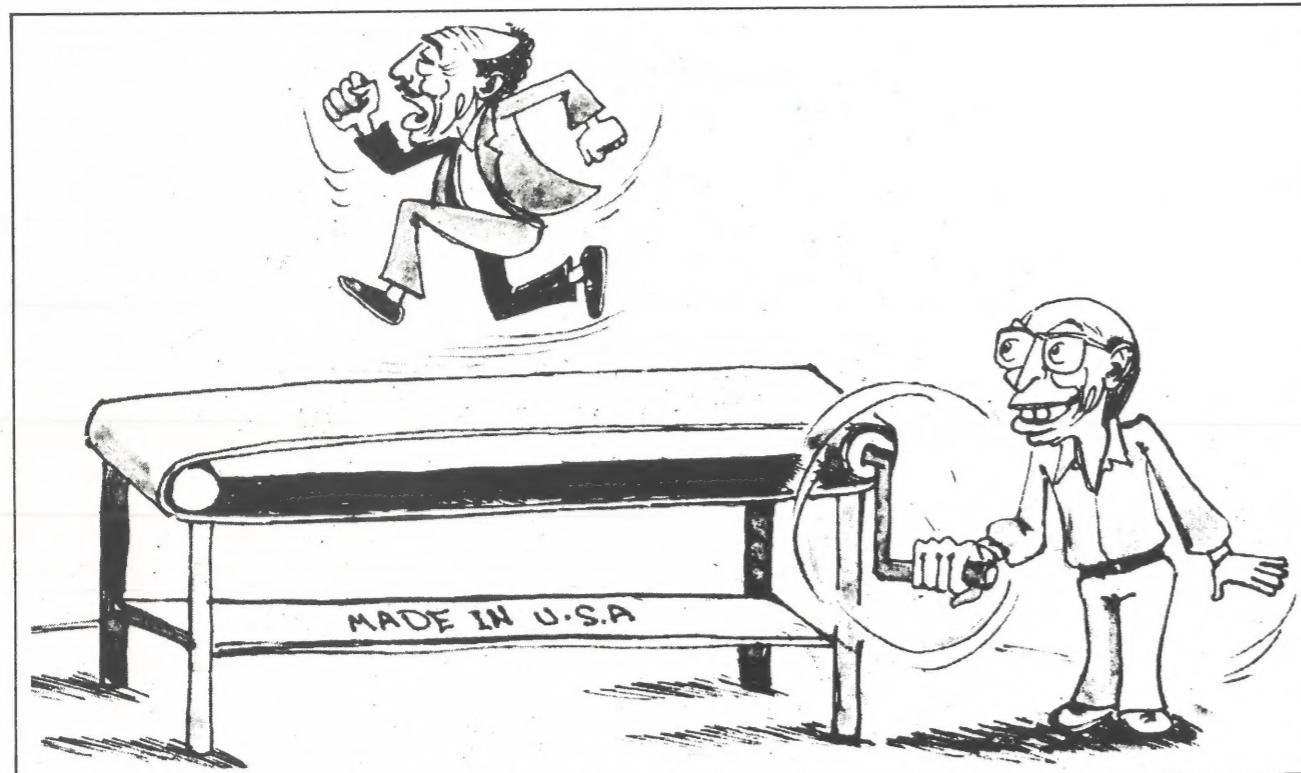
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DEATH
OF SADAT
Reports on
pages 12-13



Special report
Regional planning in Libya

Cartoon Comments



jamahiriya review

Issue No 17 October 1981

THE DEATH of Anwar Sadat was marked by celebrations in most Arab capitals. His funeral was attended by western politicians, but virtually no Arab leaders. Armed police kept the Egyptian people away. On pages 12 and 13, a special report examines the career of the man who singlehandedly wrecked the chances for a just peace in the Middle East, and handed the Israelis the breathing space to continue colonisation of occupied Palestine.

THE CONSEQUENCES of the US attack on Libyan planes in the Jamahiriya's airspace above the Gulf of Sirte continue to reverberate in the Arab homeland and throughout the world. Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi has again warned that European countries should not allow their territory to be used for American attacks on other countries, and Major Abdul Salem Jalloud has affirmed that Libya is a base of support for national liberation struggles, and a firm opponent of terrorism. A two-page report starts on page 9.

SELECTIVE REPORTING by some British papers has given the impression that Libya's falling oil sales will hurt its development plans. On page 17 Phil Kelly examines the real solution, and concludes otherwise. A three-page examination of Libya's regional planning policies by A Special Correspondent starts on page 13.

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Reagan's policies should unite Europe and the Arab Nation

ONLY TEN months into Ronald Reagan's term in office as President of the United States, the world has been consistently pushed in the direction of a major international confrontation. In Washington, the State Department is now controlled by Alexander Haig and the military rather than political leader, acting in harness in the international arena with the Defense Department under Casper Weinberger. Their appointment in the first place was Reagan's choosing, and would indicate his own personal commitment to a strategy in which political solutions are to be over-ridden in favour of military options.

Almost daily political leaders in Washington bait and provoke the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries in an alarming fashion. The commitment to place Cruise missiles in Europe and to push ahead with the production of the neutron bomb can be seen only as a provocation to the USSR to react. Dialogue and mutual respect for other people's interests have been pushed aside, branded almost as a form of subversion, as Washington encourages its surrogate regimes in El Salvador, occupied Palestine and South Africa to speak only through the barrel of the gun.

The Arab nation has already felt the consequences of Reagan's election. Incited by the Washington administration, the Zionist regime has struck at the capitals of two Arab states with the raids on Baghdad and Beirut. While Reagan's team constantly denigrate the legitimate aspirations of the Arab nation, Washington openly incites Israel to strike at the Arabs, armed with sophisticated military technology provided by the United States. The illegality of the Baghdad raid, and the high toll of human life resulting from Israel's fifteen day war against the Palestinians in Lebanon during July can leave no doubt as to who are the terrorists in the Middle East today.

It is clear that the United States plans to assert its influence in the Arab homeland through a crude assertion of military power. The visit to Washington of Menachim Begin, the Israeli prime minister still wanted by Interpol for terrorist activities in Palestine during the 1940s, provided the opportunity for Israel and the United States to hold top-level talks over the next phase of the Israeli-American campaign to crush the Palestinian resistance movement. At the earlier talks between Reagan and Egypt's ruler Anwar Sadat, no doubt a common strategy towards Libya and the Egyptian opposition groups was also high on the agenda.

There is, therefore, every reason for the Arab nation to be deeply concerned. The American hand which plunged Chile into an era of terror with the assassination of President Allende is now poised to strike in Arabia.

However, the military alliance which binds the United States and Europe should not allow the Europeans to be complacent about what is happening in the Middle East. There are several reasons why Europe should be deeply concerned.

Firstly, Europe's ties with the United States make it highly possible that in the event of a military confrontation between the US and the Arabs, American forces within NATO might be mobilised and sent into action. Such an event could invite military retaliation against American bases in Europe. It could also bring about an Arab oil embargo which would have adverse effects on the European economy.

A further possibility is that a renewed military confrontation between Israel and the Arabs would develop into a

major war. This also poses a serious threat to Europe's oil supplies from the Middle East. Even without an Arab embargo on oil supplies, Israel has shown its readiness to strike at vital installations in the Arab homeland, including oil refineries and pipelines. Nor should Europeans ignore Israel's nuclear capacity. A nuclear attack by Israel is greatly enhanced by the unstable character of the Beiggin regime. Rational thought is no characteristic of the Zionist leadership.

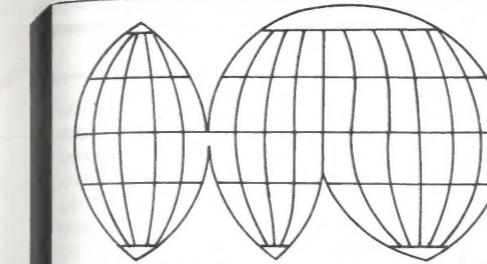
At the same time, Europe must be aware that Reagan's military build-up against the Soviets is a matter which directly affects Western Europe. It is in Europe that the American missiles will be based, making a natural target for any Soviet retaliation. The United States can afford to be provocative in the knowledge that it does not plan to fight its ideological battle on American soil. Europe will be the theatre of conflict, and the Europeans will be the first victims of a war whose dimensions in this nuclear age are difficult to comprehend.

It is ironical that the Reagan administration should receive such uncritical acclaim from Europe — reservations and fears over the possible consequences of America's arms policy fail to be expressed strongly when European leaders visit Washington. Yet in the United States liberals and church leaders are openly critical of the Reagan foreign policy priorities and tactics, but are denied support from political leaders in Europe.

The failure of the European Community to produce any kind of initiative to resolve the Palestine question emphasises the EEC's close alliance with the United States, and underlines the fact that Europe cannot be seen as independent from Washington. It must be humiliating to those European leaders, who wanted genuinely to adopt a positive and independent European initiative towards the Palestine issue, that Washington refuses to allow it. Yet it must surely point to Europe's lack of determination and resolve to be independent, even when American policy is so blatantly wrong and potentially dangerous.

There remains a need for progressive forces in Europe and the Arab homeland to work more closely together. A more permanent dialogue is required to ensure that a better understanding of each other's problems and positions is achieved. The reactionary and conservative face of the Arab nation is not a genuine expression of the Arab region. There is much which united Arab and European progressives which should not be based solely on geographical proximity and economic factors alone. A common political approach must be the basis of Euro-Arab relations, whether on a governmental or popular level.

Both regions face the problems of the nuclear age. The Reagan policy on arms escalation threatens both Europe and the Middle East. Europeans must not remain silent over the United States' schemes for military bases in the Middle East. These bases are a direct provocation to the Soviet Union and threaten to plunge the Arab homeland into a super-power confrontation in a region upon which the industrialised world depends for its fuel supplies. In Egypt the implications of Reagan's foreign policy for human rights are all too obvious; thousands of Egyptian Arabs have been thrown into Sadat's jails merely for asserting their basic right to reject and criticise the policies of the Sadat regime. It illustrates all too clearly the sham freedom and democracy for which the United States claims to be guardian and protector.



PETTY AND THE PUBLIC DEBATE



Washington cover-up of Sirte aggression

IN A move seen as a cover-up of the US aggression against the Jamahiriya in August, the Reagan administration has decided not to make public any recordings of transcripts of radio messages between Libyan fighters and their home bases. At the time of the Sirte incident, the US claimed to have intercepted messages from the fighter pilots indicating that it was they, and not the US F-14s, that fired first.

Addressing newsmen in Washington on 25th August, Pentagon spokesman Henry Catto said: 'We will have nothing to say on any Libyan communications,' adding, 'The whole matter was reviewed and the decision was that there would be no comment.' Asked about communications between the F-14 pilots and their base ship, the *Nimitz*, Mr Catto said officials were considering whether or not to release any recordings, but that he was doubtful whether they would be made public. On both sets of messages, he said, 'It is not government policy to release that kind of operational information.'

Asked why consideration had

been given to making an exception to what he said was long-standing government policy, Catto replied: 'Well, because from the beginning the idea has been to dispel any doubt that this was not the United States initiating any kind of action.'

The tortuous logic of the Pentagon spokesman's argument suggests that the real reason for supporting the messages between Libyan fighters and their bases, and between the F-14s and the *Nimitz*, is that their disclosure would have demonstrated that the Gulf of Sirte incident was a premeditated aggression by the US.

Arabs must reassess ties with the United States

ARAB LEADERS will be urged to make a fundamental reappraisal of their political and economic links with the United States following a meeting of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front which ended four days of talks in Benghazi on 19th September.

Against the background of Israeli aggressions against Iraq and Lebanon, and the shooting down of two Libyan planes over the Gulf of Sirte by the United States navy, the Benghazi meeting was convened to review the situation and the new 'strategic alliance' between the United States and Israel.

The leaders of the five Steadfastness countries — Libya, Algeria, Syria, Democratic Yemen and Palestine — were joined by the Iranian Foreign Minister, Hosein Mosavi. They heard the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi say that the creation of US weapons stockpiles in Israeli-occupied Palestine should be opposed by all Arab states with all the means at their disposal, including the use of their oil exports and holdings in US banks to bring pressure to bear on the US. The military alliance meant that there was no longer any distinction to be drawn between Israel and America.

Although the details of discussions between the leaders have not been made public, Yasser Arafat will almost certainly have raised the issue of the expected renewed Israeli attacks on the Palestinians in the Lebanon. The Israeli plan to strike at the Palestinians was discussed between Begin and Reagan during their recent Washington meeting. Subsequently, according to informed sources, Begin told the Egyptian ruler Anwar Sadat of the plan, and warned that if Sadat makes public any criticism when the operation begins, then Israel's withdrawal from Sinai under the agreements of the Camp David accords would be placed in jeopardy.

Middle East tensions threaten world peace

AN INTERNATIONAL conference has linked the shooting down of two Libyan reconnaissance planes over the Gulf of Sirte during August with the Israeli attacks on the Iraqi nuclear reactor during June and the Zionist aggressions against the Lebanon during July in which over 2,567 Palestinian and Lebanese civilians are reported to have been killed or injured.

The International Conference in Solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese Peoples ended its three days of discussions with a call for 'mandatory sanctions to be imposed on Israel by the United Nations for its continued aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and for its continued violation of United Nations resolutions.'

The final declaration referred to 'a serious breakdown' of the conspiracies against the Arab nation. The joint Israeli-American actions had created 'a serious deterioration of the situation in the Middle East', with America seeking 'to perpetuate its control over the riches and destiny of the region'.

The conference, attended by delegations from scores of countries including Britain, Ireland, Angola, El Salvador and the United States, considered 'the tremendous world-wide US military build-up, the increase of international tension, the formation of the Rapid Deployment Force, the establishment of the new American military bases in Somalia, Egypt, Oman and Kenya, the expansion of the Diego Garcia nuclear base, the deployment of US fleets in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the Gulf, the NATO decision to deploy Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, and the full production of the neutron bomb, are among the main features of this escalation.'

The US was branded 'the centre of international terrorism, using its military build-up thousands of miles away from the United States against those who struggle for freedom, independence and progress'.

The aggressive policies of the US and Israel, said the declaration 'not only constitute a threat to peace and security in the Middle East, but also to the peace and security of the world.'

Washington was accused of 'deceitful efforts' and 'creating illusions' on the issue of peace solutions in the Middle East. 'A just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East' could not be achieved 'through unilateral



Angola's people are resisting the South African onslaught

plans concocted by the United States and by ignoring the Palestinian people and their representative, the PLO.'

The problem of Lebanon had been 'fabricated' by the US and Israel, with the intention of diverting Arab efforts 'into petty secondary battles'. The conference underlined that 'one of the main prerequisites for a just peace in the Middle East is the guarantee of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and Arab character of Lebanon.'

□ See news report on Yasser Arafat's opening speech to the conference on page

Libya aids Angola against Pretoria

ANGOLA'S PRESIDENT José Eduardo dos Santos has sent a special envoy to the Libyan Jamahiriya in response to Muammar Qadhafi's offer of military assistance against aggressions

Israelis handed over a border enclave to the militia of the rightist renegade Lebanese army major Sa'ad Haddad. Ever since he has acted as a proxy for the Zionists in their fight against Palestinian liberation forces.

Israel and South Africa, both international pariahs, maintain close economic and military ties. Sam Nujoma, leader of the South West African People's Organisation, SWAPO, which is fighting for Namibian independence, disclosed in June that Israel was helping South Africa to train Savimbi's insurgents at the Namibian port town of Walvis Bay.

In mid-September, heads of state of Nigeria and of the states bordering on South Africa conferred in the Nigerian capital Lagos and issued a call for military assistance from all members of the Organisation of African Unity. Shortly after, on 16th September, Mozambique radio reported that Libya and Algeria might provide MIG-25 fighter bombers to help Angola counter South African air attacks. It added that diplomatic contacts were underway between Algeria, Libya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania and other African states to channel military aid to Angola.

The South African invasion was launched from Namibia, which remains under occupation by the Pretoria regime in defiance of UN resolutions providing for its establishment as an independent state. On 14th September the UN General Assembly voted 117-0 to call on the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against Pretoria because of its continuing subjugation of Namibia.

Women are equal with men, says Qadhafi

ALL LIBYA'S air, air defence, naval and military academies and secondary schools will be open to women and men on an equal basis from this year. Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi told a passing-out parade of graduates from the women's military academy in Tripoli on 30th August.

Colonel Qadhafi said that Libyans, as Arabs and Muslims, the architects of a new civilisation, could not accept that women could be bought and sold, as they were in backward societies such as that of Libya's former monarchy. The graduation of women officers and the opening up of all military education to both sexes was 'the beginning of the end of the era of harems and slavery, and the beginning of women's liberation in the Arab nation,' Brother Qadhafi said.

The Arab nation needed a revolution to liberate half its people, its women, the Libyan leader said. 'This half of the people is still under the dominance of world colonialism,' he said. The Arab nation, men and women, were the targets of attempts to subjugate them. But inside the nation, Arab women were still dominated by oppression, feudalism, and the profit motive.

Equality for women was 'a bomb which will rock the entire Arab nation'. Colonel Qadhafi added that current practices on divorce and marriage were insulting, and were contrary to the Koran.

'From now on,' Colonel Qadhafi told women officers, 'women will be strong, armed, educated, and dignified as this is a strength for the Jamahiriya, society and the whole Arab nation.'

Western aid to Third World falls

FINANCIAL AID from the western industrialised states for the Third World dropped last year from \$75 billion in 1979 to \$73.2 billion, according to figures issued on 24th June by the Development Assistance Committee of the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Aid provided by the seventeen countries concerned averaged out at only 0.37 per cent of their gross national products — well below the one per cent target set by the United Nations. One of the most dismal performances was that of the United States, whose aid last year amounted to a mere 0.27 per cent of GNP.

The OECD report also examines the aid record of the states grouped in the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and shows that last year they provided aid to the Third World totalling \$7 billion. This was well above two per cent of their combined GNP.

Africa south of the Sahara has been a major recipient of Arab aid, and in early June Dr Chedly al Ayari, head of the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, announced that in 1980 the Arab oil-producers provided over \$1 billion in aid to the region. He was speaking in Paris at a conference organised by the French-Arab Chamber of Commerce.

A major aid package for Mauritania, reported in late August, highlights the Libyan Jamahiriya's prominence as an aid donor. Libya is to provide about \$24 million to help finance a number of schemes, including a university in the Saharan state's capital, Nouakchott, and agri-

cultural, power and road projects in other parts of the country.

Following a meeting with Mr Dieng Boubu Farba, Mauritanian Economy and Finance Minister, Mr Joumaa Soueissi, Secretary of the Libyan Brotherhood Bureau in Nouakchott, announced that the university project was to receive \$1.4 million. An electrical scheme at Chinguetti in the north had been allocated \$300,000, a project to pave the road between Chinguetti and Atar would receive \$120,000, and \$900,000 had been earmarked for the purchase of water pumps. He added that the Jamahiriya will provide \$21 million for agricultural schemes.

US diverts attention from its use of biological weapons

THE UNITED STATES is seeking to divert attention from its use of chemical and biological agents by accusing the Soviet Union of using them in South East Asia, on the flimsiest of evidence. Now, Cuba has accused the US of waging germ warfare against it, the *Irish Times* reported on 10th September. The newspaper said that the Cuban government had accused the US of being responsible for an epidemic of a contagious eye disease which had hit 1,815 people in six days. The Cuban statement said that the outbreak of the disease,



Secretary of State Haig: the US is using chemical weapons while he is blaming others for doing so

toxins when it was well known that both Russia and the West hold stocks of far more potent chemical and biological weapons; that if the leaf sample allegedly brought from Cambodia had been refrigerated, this would have had the effect of concentrating the poison, which occurs naturally in mouldy vegetable matter; and that a leading Harvard University biological warfare specialist, Professor Matthew Meselson, felt that the evidence was 'scientifically unacceptable'.

The State Department's allegations suddenly disappeared from the media. Observers recalled that the US tried to create a similar scare at the end of 1979, centering on an alleged biological poisoning incident in the Soviet city of Sverdlovsk. That incident preceded the news that NATO was to increase its chemical weapon capability. This time, the Haig exercise in West Germany by US troops, reported by *The Times* on 18th September.

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Chad government faces foreign subversion

SUDANESE-SUPPORTED rebels are still carrying out attacks against government forces in Chad, nine months after the troops of Chad President Goukoune Oueddei defeated insurgents led by Hissene Habre, who fled to sanctuary in Sudan.

Fighting in the early weeks of September has been in Chad's easterly Ouaddai province, and has centred round the towns of Adre and Guereda. 500 rebels were killed when government troops re-took the town of Guereda on 15th September. Libyan military sources in Chad said that it was not possible to say whether Libyan troops, in the country at the request of President Oueddei, had participated in the latest anti-terrorist activities.

The resurgence of Habre's group, which was all but wiped out by government troops nine months ago, is attributed to the

LIBYA TRAINS BRITONS FOR STREET VIOLENCE

By GERRY BROWN
Pictures: IAN CUTLER

LIBYAN dictator Colonel Gaddafi—branded the most dangerous man in the world—is master-minding a secret plot to arm black revolutionary murder squads in Britain.

The men join the assassination teams who strike down Gaddafi's enemies throughout the world. In return they are given aid to whip up violence on the streets here.

About 20 have so far received weapon training alongside IRA terrorists already operating for Gaddafi. And some may be preparing to commit at least three murders in London.

A News of the World investigation in Athens, Rome and London, has uncovered the sinister details of Gaddafi's new network of death.

It was set up last year after the Libyans made a clumsy bid to hire East End gangsters as contract killers.

This was organised by the head of the Libyan mission in London, Mr Musa Kousa, after the Special Branch arrested two imported hitmen who gunned down two exiled opponents of Gaddafi's regime.

HEROIN

But the offer of a contract to kill two more was thrown back in his face by an East End gangster who said: "We don't care how good the money is, we don't dabble in politics."

Kousa, who was later expelled from Britain, then offered the contract to a 26-year-old black Londoner in exchange for

A total fiction: The News of the World lies about the Jamahiriya

► new closeness between the Sudan and the United States. When Libyan planes were shot down by US jets over the Gulf of Sirte on 19th August, Sudan called Libyan protests 'fabricated clamour', in sharp contrast to the concern voiced by even the conservative Arab countries.

Sudan's 60,000 strong army, described by a western military expert as "existing primarily to put down internal dissent", has been strengthened along the western borders by the introduction of French and (via Saudi Arabia) American weapons, the London weekly *8 Days* reported on 19th September. That area, of course, borders Chad. Many of the people of south-western Sudan are severely disaffected from the Khartoum regime of Jafaar Numeiri, and the presence among them of Habre's rebels may be a useful factor for Numeiri in distracting Sudanese who might otherwise openly oppose the regime.

Fomenting unrest also serves to keep Libyan troops tied down in



ARMS DEALER CHRISTIAN: "Target practice at the embassy"

heroin to a drugs ring in Brixton and Peckham. Kousa told him: "There's too much surveillance on our IRA allies. We think British blacks could get near to their victims without arousing suspicion."

One of Gaddafi's main recruiting agents in Britain is now a black who is paid in vast quantities of drugs, delivered to a member of the disco in New Cross, London.

"They're not like normal tourists, they don't go sightseeing, and they are visited by Arabs who arrange some sort of visas. The drugs are smuggled in diplomatic pouches, immune from Customs or police search."

Recruitment to the Gaddafi cause soared during the summer after the rioting in Brixton and Liverpool.

Behind the diplomatic security of the Embassy they are given intensive



On 20th September, the paper claimed that young Britons of West Indian background were being recruited by the Libyan People's Bureau in London, and sent to Rome and Libya, to be trained as terrorists. The story, by reporter Gerry Brown, also alleged that Mr Musa Kousa, a former Secretary of the People's Committee of the Bureau had 'offered a contract' to commit a murder to an unnamed man in exchange for supplying cocaine and heroin to a drugs ring.

The whole sordid story has now been exposed as a lie from start to finish. On 25th September, the fortnightly magazine *Private Eye* revealed that the only person named in the story as a source of the allegations — 'Athens-based arms dealer Edward Christian' — was in fact a professional confidence trickster by the name of Joe Flynn. Flynn had defrauded money out of the *News of the World* before by selling them sensational but untrue information.

News of the World lies exposed

A CLAIM by the British Sunday newspaper *The News of the World* that Libya was involved in training young Britons for street violence has been exposed as a complete fabrication.

This time, he had convinced reporter Brown that he was a frequent visitor to the PLO office and the Libyan Embassy in Rome and that 'dozens of West Indians with British passports' had gone through Rome under Libyan and PLO auspices. The reporter, and *News of the World* editor Barry Askew were so anxious to get an anti-Libyan story into print that they did not even bother to check it with any Libyan, or black community, source. They did not even stop to ascertain whether 'Edward Christian' was who he claimed to be. The shrewd Mr Flynn no doubt calculated that Fleet Street's normal anti-Libyan hysteria would enhance his chances of pulling a fast one.

First Libyan pilgrims head for Mecca

THE LINER *Granada* sailed from Tripoli on 9th September carrying this year's first group of Libyans performing the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. The group numbered 700 men and women.

Last year there were 42,757 pilgrims from the Jamahiriya, a 21 per cent increase over 1979. Performance of the Hajj is one of the principal duties of all Muslims.

New military college will strengthen people's militia

A NEW military academy, to be named the Armed People's College, is to be established in the Jamahiriya, by order of Muammer Qadhafi who is Supreme Commander of the country's armed forces. Announcing this on 3rd September, Major Khweildi Hamidi, leader of the people's militias in Libya's towns, said the academy would be under his command and would train officers for the militias. He was speaking at the Tripoli headquarters of the urban militias at a passing out parade for 16 battalions of primary and secondary school teachers.

A key tenet of the Jamahiriya's defence policy is that the people should be directly responsible for their defence, and as well as receiving military training should have access to the country's weaponry. In his *Green Book*, which sets out the principles that guide the Al Fateh Revolution, Muammer Qadhafi argues that military power should not be confined to professional armies, lest they use it to dominate the people.

LIBYAN LEADER Muammer Qadhafi told 25,000 people in Tripoli's Green Square that American policies in the Mediterranean area could lead to a nuclear disaster. In his speech to the rally celebrating the twelfth anniversary of Libya's 1st September Al Fateh Revolution, Colonel Qadhafi warned the people of Mediterranean littoral countries that the United States was deliberately placing them in danger.

The Libyan leader warned the United States that any repeat of the attack in August by US planes from the carrier *Nimitz* on Libyan aircraft over the Gulf of Sirte would be strongly resisted by Libya. 'If the Sixth Fleet or other American forces return to the Gulf of Sirte, then we shall fight the Sixth Fleet no matter what the consequences and whatever the catastrophe,' he declared.

Colonel Qadhafi warned that the Sixth Fleet was equipped with weapons with nuclear warheads. If Libya was forced to defend itself, then it would attack without distinguishing between units carrying missiles or not. Many people in the West fear that US nuclear weapons in Europe would be used without consultation with their own governments, and the Libyan leader warned that if America were to use its bases in western European and Mediterranean countries to launch an attack on Libya, or if NATO backed it, 'Then we will have the right to attack these bases if we have the military means to reach them.'

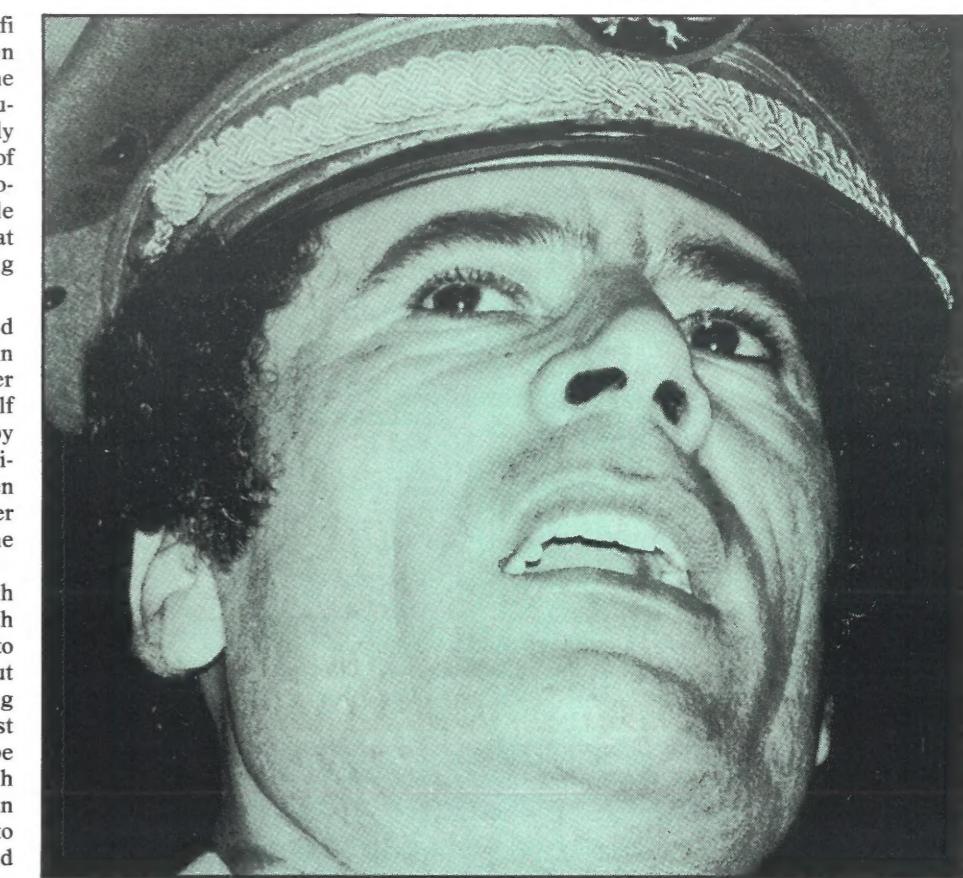
He called on the people of Sicily — where the Italian government is to allow the US to station cruise missiles, of Crete — which has one of the region's largest US naval bases at Chania; of Turkey — which relies heavily on its NATO ally for defence, and of all western European countries, to realise that America was placing them in danger.

The Gulf of Sirte, Colonel Qadhafi said, was an integral part of Libyan territory. 'The US President lied to the world. Libya has not extended its territorial waters to 220 miles. Libya, like most other countries, adheres to a twelve mile limit for its territorial waters in spite of the fact that there are no set rules governing the issue, even now,' the Libyan leader said. Libya would defend its national territory.

But, the Libyan leader pointed out, the conflict was not of Libya's choosing: 'We have tried all possible peaceful and cordial means to reach an understanding with the US Administration. But we have failed, because of America's megalomania, its deeply entrenched crusading spirit, and its historic hatred of Islam, the East, and people who want their freedom.'

NATO

Colonel Qadhafi reminded his listeners that it was US membership in NATO which gave it access to bases in Europe and the Mediterranean, without which it would not be able to operate so freely. 'Despite America's power, it needs the military help of its allies in western Europe. Therefore,



US aggressions pose danger to Europe, warns Qadhafi

against US Secretary of State Alexander Haig during his visit to Germany, the Libyan leader said that this was happening 'with no Qadhafi, and no revolutionary committees. There are no Libyan funds, no Libyan terrorists, no Carlos', he added with heavy irony.

Colonel Qadhafi called for the Libyan and Syrian people to work together to overcome the separatist tendencies which had slowed the progress towards unity of the two Arab countries which he had called for in 1980 on the eleventh anniversary of the Libyan revolution.

On Palestine, the Libyan leader said that ordinary Libyans had been asking him to speed up arrangements for them to volunteer to serve with the Palestinian revolution, and he called for the opening of recruitment centres in all Arab countries. Palestinians in the Jamahiriya ought to volunteer for combat. 'The mobilisation will start tomorrow,' he declared.

The Libyan revolutionary leader said that it was shameful that Arab countries had given only \$24 million to the PLO in the wake of the Israeli attack on civilian centres in Beirut. 'I thought at first they must mean \$24 billion,' he said, pointing out that US oil companies had a revenue of \$36 billion annually from the Arab oil producing countries.

Negotiations were taking place with Saudi Arabia about oil prices and production levels, Colonel Qadhafi said. The present situation, in which Libya, Nigeria, ▶

Jalloud puts 'terrorism' in perspective

DELEGATES FROM 86 countries, representing 360 organisations, expressed their support for the Libyan Jamahiriya against the United States at a solidarity conference held in Tripoli at the end of August.

Greeting the 650 delegates, Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi said that their presence and support for the Libyan people and their revolution showed that they were in the right, and the United States was in the wrong. The level of international support for the Jamahiriya meant that America's surrogates in occupied Palestine, Egypt, Sudan and other countries were exposed as the oppressors and aggressors in the region.

The Conference was organised by the International Secretariat for Solidarity with the Arab People and their central cause, Palestine, in advance of the Gulf of Sirte incident on 19th August when US planes attacked Libyan jets on patrol in Libyan airspace. A similar conference was held in Tripoli last year on the eve of the anniversary of Libya's Al Fateh Revolution.

Colonel Qadhafi told delegates that their presence would mean that they could tell the truth in their own countries about colonialism, racism and reaction, and could help to influence international politics to resist and defeat these forces.

The Libyan leader offered the soil of the Jamahiriya as a base for a new international organisation against imperialism, a permanent headquarters for a solidarity movement against the crude attacks mounted by the imperialists around the world. He cited the oppression experienced by the people of El Salvador, Chile, Namibia and South Africa, Angola, Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, and Ireland as examples.

He called also for the headquarters of the United Nations organisation to



Staff Major Abdul Salem Jalloud

be moved from the United States. The US should be deprived of its rights of veto in the international body, he said. If it carried on subverting the peoples of other countries by such organisations as the CIA, Brother Qadhafi warned, the United States faced the possibility of expulsion from the UN.

Addressing the final session of the Conference, senior Libyan aide Staff Major Abdul Salem Jalloud said that Libya totally repudiated all claims that it was a centre for 'international terrorism'. It was, he said, a centre for resistance to American terrorism.

Major Jalloud said that persistent US interference in the internal affairs of other countries, in particular the plans to invade Libya and to murder Muammer Qadhafi, meant that the US had forfeited even the right to be treated on an equal basis with the Soviet Union as one of the super powers with a responsibility for determining world peace.

The United States would continue to label Libya as 'terrorist' because Libya supported national liberation

struggles, which for the Americans, was 'tantamount to terrorism'. But, said Major Jalloud, world public opinion recognised the contribution made by the Jamahiriya to liberation struggles. World public opinion should be mobilised into a campaign to force America to retreat to its own borders, and to respect the rights of the peoples of the world, he declared.

Major Jalloud said that western newspaper reports about Libya's alleged support for 'terror' were part of a campaign of psychological warfare intended to limit support for liberation movements. But, he added, 'such campaigns will not affect us, because of our faith in the soundness of our position and our international role.'

An Arab-African Conference on the threat to African and Arab countries posed by the new policies of Israel and the United States will be held in Angola in December. Preparations for the Conference were put in hand during the Tripoli meeting, the final statement said.

It added that the Angolan people in particular faced military aggression and invasion from the racist regime in Pretoria, and called for concrete solidarity with Angola and its people.

The final statement said that all delegates had affirmed their support for the struggle of the Libyan people and their revolutionary leadership against the intentions of the United States.

The strongest possible condemnation was expressed of the attack by US planes on Libyan jets over the Gulf of Sirte, and participants congratulated the Libyan Jamahiriya for the support which it extended to national liberation struggles.

The Conference called for the halting of the world-wide US military build-up, saying that this would increase the chances for peace, liberation, and world progress.

►Algeria, the UAE and Kuwait were finding it hard to sell their oil because of competition from cheap Saudi oil, only benefitted the US and Israel, he declared.

Peace

In conclusion, Colonel Qadhafi put forward a peace plan for troubled Lebanon. 'We Arabs must enter Beirut, and eradicate the line which divides the heart of that city. The barricades must be torn down, and the Christian people should be reconciled.' National unity should be achieved by transforming the military balance between the Patriotic movement — the Christians, and the National Front — the Moslems and the left — into an equality of posts in a reconstructed national army and political and administrative sectors, he declared.

Colonel Qadhafi held talks with leaders

of several national delegations who visited Libya for the solidarity conference and the celebrations of the twelfth anniversary of the Revolution.

These included talks with President Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar, whose island republic is seriously concerned at the US military build-up in the Indian Ocean. He also met PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, and Chad President Goukounei Oueddei. Other Palestinian leaders received by Qadhafi included the expelled Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul in the occupied West Bank, Fahd Qawasma and Mohammed Milhem, and Sheikh Tamini, Hebron's Muslim judge.

The Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega, a member of the Council of the Sandinista Revolutionary Movement, also had talks with Libyan officials. Along with other guests, he was also

present at the military parade through Tripoli which formed part of the anniversary celebrations.

The parade, which took three hours to pass through Tripoli's Green Square, included representatives of all branches of the Libyan armed forces, people's militias, and military academies and schools. Detachments of T-72, T-62 and T-55 tanks took part, and there were contingents from other mechanised units, including self-propelled artillery and rocket launchers, and anti-aircraft missiles and guns. Overhead, a flying display by the Libyan Arab Air Force included examples of MiG-25 and MiG-23 aircraft, Su-22 fighter-bombers, Tupolev long-range bombers, and anti-submarine helicopters and transport planes. The Libyan Navy's ships in Tripoli harbour were dressed overall as part of the celebrations.

Lebanon bombed but the Arab nation is the target

AMERICAN STRATEGY in the Middle East aims 'to subjugate the region and its peoples, and impose a *fait-accompli*, completely contradictory to the interests of the Arab people, their aspirations and their national independence,' the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organisation told an international conference in solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese Peoples held in Beirut during September.

Mr Yasser Arafat warned that a new wave of Israeli terrorism against the Lebanon was soon 'expected, and linked events in the Lebanon with the Zionists' earlier attack on the nuclear reactor in Baghdad, and the United States attack against the Libyan Jamahiriya in the Gulf of Sirte. Israel, he pointed out, could not make these aggressions against the Arabs without the support of the United States, both political and on the military level through the supply of American-made sophisticated weapons.

The conference had been organised by the PLO to bring some 400 delegates to the Lebanon in order that they might see for themselves the scale of damage inflicted on civilian areas by the July land, sea and air attacks launched by the Israelis. Homes had been destroyed, civilians massacred in their hundreds, essential infrastructure devastated. Beirut, once the proud and flourishing mercantile capital of the Lebanon and the Arab world beyond, reduced to a city which appeared to have survived the holocaust. It needed no words from Yasser Arafat to illustrate the consequences of the American-Israeli conspiracy.

Today, the Palestinians and Lebanese brace themselves for the next assault and there can be little doubt that the bloodshed and death will be of epic proportions. The policy of the new US administration was 'a blessing and encouragement of aggression and an incitement for more murder and destruction visited on the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples,' the Palestinian leader explained.

The Arab nation was not alone. Mr Arafat added, 'Is this not similar to the current actions of the Pretoria government in Namibia and Angola? The same is being done against the people of Salvador struggling against terrorism and dictatorship.'

The actions of Israel could not be separated from the policies of the United States, the Palestinian leader said. Israel was 'relying on force and superiority of the enormous war machine provided by the US, and particularly the strong and intensive political support.'

The Joint Forces of the Palestinians and Lebanese were justified 'in our right to struggle to safeguard the unity, sovereignty and Arabism of Lebanon and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state over Palestinian soil,

technology, in particular against the densely-populated quarter of Fakhni,' Arafat said. 'In a series of three bombing runs, whole residential apartment blocks were flattened and dozens more suffered irreparable damage. There were over one thousand martyrs and wounded. I must recall that, after Baghdad, Beirut was the second Arab capital to be raided by US-manufactured planes in the space of a few weeks.'

However, Beirut had not been the only Zionist target: 'The south was turned into a hell, with non-stop waves of aerial, naval and artillery bombardment. In addition, five major landing attempts were made along the combat axes with the clear aim of consolidating bridgeheads for occupation. This would have been followed by a full-scale invasion into the Tyre-Sidon-Hasbaya triangle.'

'It was fullscale war,' declared Arafat. 'The enemy used all its weapons. According to their communiques, over sixty per cent of their air force was in action during those fifteen days. The results, however, showed that, as the Arab proverb says, the rulers' calculations differed from those of the ruled.'

Turning to US policy in the region, the Palestinian leader continued, 'The US administration bears responsibility for destroying the chances of peace in this region. It supplies Israel with all the instruments of force, it denies our people their legitimate rights to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on our national soil, and it holds fast to the Camp David framework imposed on the Arab nation despite the development of an Arab stand completely rejecting this framework, which serves in fact to consecrate Israeli occupation and presents a very real challenge to a just peace — all this despite an almost unanimous worldwide conviction that this framework is futile and incapable of realising a true and just peace in the region.'

The Palestinian and Arab peoples were facing a conspiracy planned in Washington and Tel Aviv. 'We are against it and will continue to struggle against it,' Mr Arafat said. 'The great uprisings inside the occupied territories attest to this steadfastness in the face of Zionist occupation, and the people's commitment to their legitimate and inalienable national rights.'

And he warned, 'The coming phase will be extremely hot and dangerous. Our region is surrounded by US fleets, not to mention the Israeli expansionist schemes. The region is witnessing dangerous developments, and it is not an exaggeration to say that we are living on top of a powder keg, whose fuse is in the hands of the US administration and their Israeli military instruments, and whose explosion will not affect this region alone, but the whole world.'

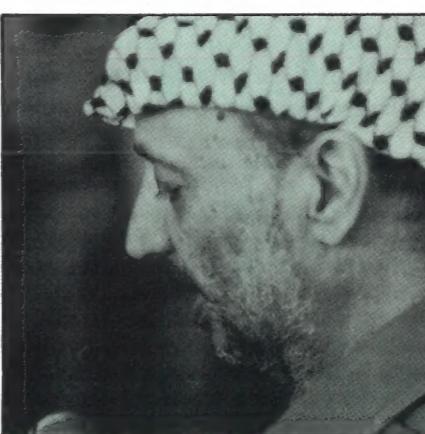


Photo: Main Event

EGYPTIAN RULER Anwar Sadat was assassinated by members of his own armed forces on 6th October as he reviewed a military parade to mark the eighth anniversary of the crossing of the Suez Canal in the 1973 Arab Israeli war.

His death was marked by rejoicing and celebration in most Arab capitals, as the Arab nation marked the end of a man who had made common cause with the Zionists, and who put the interests of the United States and Israel before those of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation as a whole.

Sadat became President of Egypt in 1970, on the tragic death of Gamal Abdul Nasser, founder of the Egyptian Revolution. At first, he pledged to continue Nasser's policies of Arab unity, socialism, and struggle for the liberation of Palestine. He soon made dramatic changes from Nasser's policies. In 1970, Sadat agreed to the suggestion of Libya's leader, Muammar Qadhafi, that the two countries should join in a Federation of Arab Republics, which was also to include Syria and Democratic Yemen. Sadat sought to demonstrate Egypt's independence of the super-powers by expelling Soviet technicians who were advising the Egyptian armed forces. But it soon became clear that the expulsion was a preparatory step towards moving Egypt ever closer to the United States and the west.

In 1973, Sadat, along with Syria and with the support of the whole Arab world, launched a dramatic attack across the Suez Canal, ostensibly to liberate Egyptian Sinai, occupied by the Israelis in 1967. But as the October war went on, Sadat's Arab supporters were devastated when they realised that the crossing of the Canal had been launched solely as a tactic; he had no intention of making a serious military challenge to the Zionists. General Saad Eddine Shazli, the commander who organised the successful crossing, accused Sadat of sabotaging the operation.

The 1973 war had the result of reactivating the interest of the United States in a 'settlement' of the Middle East problem, but the 'shuttle diplomacy' of US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was directed only towards alleviating the threat to America's protégé Israel, and its client regimes in the Arab homeland.

Sadat also drew closer to the west economically. His 'open door' economic policy was intended to integrate Egypt with the western world's economy. But it was a disaster for ordinary Egyptians. A handful of entrepreneurs enriched themselves as inflation and shortages hit poorer Egyptians. The investment from abroad which he sought never came.

In January 1977, discontent erupted on the streets of Cairo as demonstrators ironically chanted 'O hero of the crossing, where is our breakfast?' The protests were brutally suppressed by Sadat's army and police, which were already receiving US training. In July 1977, Sadat, desperate for something which

Sadat's death not mourned

THE DEATH of Anwar Sadat underlined the bitter rejection of his policies even by his own people. Democracy was swept aside as the Egyptian ruler forged alliances with the Zionists and the Americans which even conservative Arabs rejected. To the Arab nation, Sadat served foreign interests and betrayed those of his own people.



would distract ordinary Egyptians from his failures, launched an attack on the Libyan Jamahiriya, which was beaten back by the Libyan armed forces.

Moves were already afoot to reconvene the Geneva conference on the Middle East, under the joint presidency of the US and the Soviet Union. The two super-powers had announced their plan on 1st October; the PLO was to be present, representing the Palestinians. There was a slight chance for a solution to the Middle East problem which might have granted the Palestinians their rights.

Singlehandedly, Sadat wrecked the chance for a comprehensive peace by flying to Jerusalem in November, and asking Zionist Premier Menachem Begin for a separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. The result was the talks at Camp David, President Jimmy Carter's country residence, which led to agreements on Israeli withdrawal from Sinai, but also, under the guise of 'autonomy', condemned the Palestinians to continuing Israeli colonisation.

Opposition mounted to Sadat's Camp David policy among all sections of Egyptian society, and he was forced to round up the opponents of his policies and imprison them (see opposite page). It was this which finally galvanised eight soldiers into turning their guns on him at the military parade outside Cairo.

Shazli

Speaking from Tripoli in an interview with Independent Radio News of London, General Shazli said that the act was the responsibility of the Egyptian National Front, which groups together all Egyptian opposition organisations. General Shazli described the Front as an independent group in close contact with the five members of the Arab Steadfastness and Confrontation group, which includes the Libyan Jamahiriya, Algeria, Democratic Yemen and the PLO. 'They support us morally,' General Shazli said, 'and we can use the territory and the radio station of friendly countries.'

Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi commented that the death of Sadat was the carrying out of the death sentence imposed on the Egyptian ruler by an Arab People's Court on 19th November 1979, in the wake of the signature of the Camp David agreements. He expressed his support to the Egyptian people 'for this daring act carried out by a group of their sons in the armed forces.'

Brother Qadhafi also called for the border region between Libya and Egypt to be turned into a region for brotherhood and unity. Libya would withdraw its military patrols from the region, he said; requests for supplies from the Egyptian Army in the western desert would be provided for from Tobruk.

Colonel Qadhafi said that power in Egypt should now pass into the hands of the people, and he called on them to seize power.

The Libyan Armed Forces, he said would consider themselves as the reserve section of the Egyptian Armed Forces; if they were asked to assist, they were ready; if they were not asked, they would not intervene. The Libyan leader warned other powers, including the Israelis, the Americans, and Sudanese ruler Jaafar Numeiri, not to intervene in Egypt.

'On 1st September 1981, I said to you the Egyptian people that you should move against Sadat to wipe away the shame, or that shame would be borne by the whole of Egypt . . . you have lived up to our expectations. We are with you and await your call,' the Libyan leader concluded.

EGYPTIAN RULER Anwar Sadat carried out a desperate purge of national and democratic forces in Egypt in the first week of September. Exiled Egyptians in London said that 8,000 opponents of Sadat had been arrested or disappeared, contrary to official figures which admitted 1,600 had been jailed. All informed commentators dismiss Sadat's claim that he was moving against extremists, and see the moves as an attempt to silence opponents of the Camp David deal.

'Democracy, when it bites, has fiercer claws than dictators,' Sadat told reporters who questioned the necessity for the moves. In moves intended to confirm that his repressive measures enjoyed the support of the Egyptian people, Sadat called an instant referendum, which resulted, he claimed, in a vote of 99.45 per cent in his favour.

Reporting from Cairo for the *Daily Telegraph*, Brian Silk on 11th September was moved to bitter irony in describing the Sadat referendum: 'The purpose of the exercise was to prove that President Sadat was not a dictator, and that Egypt was the only democracy in the Arab world. To ensure that the democratic process was fully observed, all of the 12 million people on the electoral list were obliged by law to vote. President Sadat made it easy for them to answer one simple question: Do you approve of the measures and principles of safeguarding national unity and social peace?'

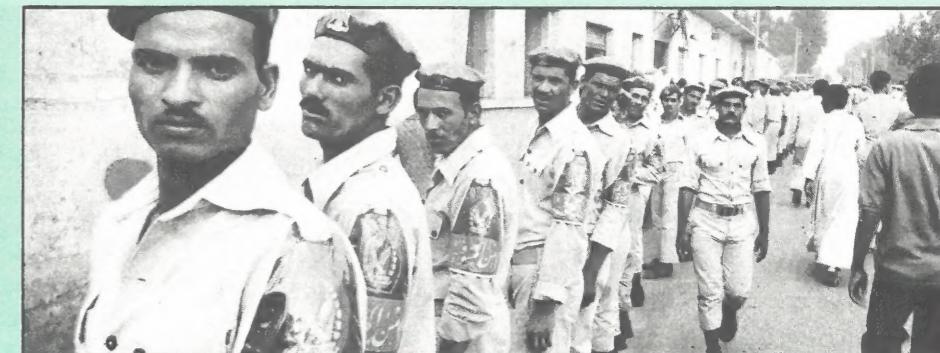
'There was no need,' Silk continued, 'for anyone to trouble his mind to the extent of wondering whether or not the arrest of 1,500 people would contribute to this admirable objective. There was nothing to confuse the issue, like asking people to balance one aspect of the purge against another . . .'

Silk reported that voters were being asked to mark their ballot papers where state officials could see them, and that officials were advising people to support the President, as indeed were all those newspapers still on sale, not having been banned like the paper of the opposition Socialist Labour Party and several religious publications.

Camp David

Behind the clampdown lay Sadat's fear that growing opposition to his Camp David deal with the Zionists would bring his shaky regime tumbling. 'Most western press reports are presenting Sadat's new wave of repression as aimed at religious extremists, both Muslim and Christian, the pretext he himself has stressed. But to anyone with even a cursory knowledge of Egyptian politics, this excuse seems flimsy,' wrote Helena Cobban in the *New Statesman* on 11th September. 'What unites those arrested in the midnight raids is their general opposition to the whole Camp David "peace process" rather than any supposed dedication to sectarian unrest.'

Although Sadat at first claimed that he made the arrests to forestall escalating



The fake referendum: Egyptian police watch for dissidents at the polling booths

Arrests intended to silence Camp David critics

THE ASSASSINATION of Egyptian ruler Anwar Sadat by elements of his own army has destroyed the greatest ally of the Americans and the Israelis in the Arab homeland. The prelude to Sadat's death was his arrest of 8,000 opponents of his Camp David policies and critics of the disastrous state of the Egyptian economy.

in Cairo were produced. The sectarian incident between Muslims and Christians cited by Sadat took place in June. Egyptian opposition members see the timing of the current crackdown as entirely related to Sadat's recent trip to Washington.

Opposition journalist Lutfi Al Khuli, who was in Europe at the beginning of September and so escaped the purge, told the *New Statesman* that Sadat, visiting Washington in August, had been told that the Reagan administration was not prepared to put any pressure on the Zionists either to ensure that Israel withdrew from Sinai as agreed in April 1982, or to make any concessions which Sadat could present as progress towards Palestinian 'autonomy' in the 1967-occupied areas of Palestine.

It is the issue of Palestinian autonomy which unites all the elements of the opposition. Sadat had moved to suppress this opposition for fear that the Zionists would use it as an excuse not to fulfil the agreement to withdraw. Rafael Eytan, Israeli Army Chief of Staff, commented shortly after the purge that 'There is unrest in Egypt, and Sadat could go one day. In Egypt, it all depends on one man.'

Exiled Egyptian opposition leader Sa'ad Eddine Shazli, the General who led the successful crossing of the Suez Canal in 1973, said in Algiers that Washington was considering whether or not Sadat was secure enough to carry out American policies. 'The possibility of a replacement is on the cards,' General Shazli commented in Algiers on 9th September.

Egyptian troops and police dispersed demonstrations which occurred throughout Egypt on the days following the purge. Protesters in Cairo were clubbed and tear-gassed. The parallels between Egypt and Iran, between Sadat and the former Shah, are irresistible. The September purge was the equivalent of screwing down the safety valve on a steam boiler. Sadat has tied himself even more firmly to the Americans and the Zionists; when the explosion comes, it will be even more destructive for all three Camp David partners, than they can possibly imagine.

Referenda challenged

IN THE Green Book, the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi says of referenda and plebiscites: 'They are a fraud against democracy. Those who say "yes" and those who say "no" do not in fact express their will. They have been silenced through the conception of modern democracy. They have been allowed to utter only one word; either "yes" or "no". This is the most cruel and oppressive dictatorial system. He who says "no" should give reasons for his answer. And he who says "yes" should give reasons for approval and why he did not say "no". Everyone should make clear what he wants and the reasons for his approval or rejection.'



Control room of an oil refinery: more and more of Libya's oil will be processed in the country itself

Regional planning in the Jamahiriya

IN A period of a few decades Libya must make up for centuries of neglect and create an infrastructure that will stand comparison with anywhere in the developed world. Of course, this sort of pressure for rapid development confronts every oil state, but Libya has some unique problems as well to complicate her task.

Despite her vast land area of almost 1.8 million square kilometres, only two per cent is suitable for agriculture. A further eight per cent could be used for pasture and, of the rest, eighty per cent is desert and ten per cent steppe. For Libya's population, now over three million, this means that the provision of adequate food supplies is very difficult. Furthermore, any attempts to increase food production by extending agricultural activities are bound to run up against the very hostile physical environment that covers ninety per cent of the country. One result of this has been that Libya's population has necessarily been concentrated in those areas that are the most fertile — the Mediterranean coast around the towns of Tripoli and Benghazi and, to a lesser extent, Sebha in the Fezzan.

Planning in Libya, given these constraints, must therefore address three separate issues. It must create an effective industrial base for economic self-sufficiency and diversification in the

THE MOST vital concern for the Libyan Jamahiriya today is development. Over the past ten years her massive oil wealth has been channelled into a series of bold projects designed to ensure that, by the time the oil runs out, Libya will be economically self-sufficient. A special contributor looks at future regional development schemes which are part of a plan to the year 2000.

shortest possible time. It must also develop the limited agricultural base to the maximum if the goal of nutritional self-sufficiency by the end of the century is to be achieved. Finally, Libya's population must be dispersed away from the congested coastal areas through the careful location of agricultural and industrial projects in new regions. Here regional planning is of vital importance for it translates national plans which deal with

the development of economic sectors into geographic reality. It can maximise the use of available resources and counteract the tendency of population and economic activity to concentrate in the temperate coastal regions.

Environmental constraints and advantages
Availability of water is one of the critical factors in Libya's development, both for regional planning and for her overall aims. The traditional concentration of population along the Mediterranean grew up because this was the only region where there was sufficient rain for agriculture to succeed. In the Tripoli region, the Jefara plain and the Jabal Nafusa receive about 200 mm of rain per year — just sufficient for the dry-farming of wheat and other cereals. In the eastern Benghazi region, rainfall can rise to up to 600 mm in parts of the Jabal al-Akhdar. Elsewhere rainfall is negligible. This is a critical consideration for industry too, for it also needs vast amounts of water and, unless sufficient amounts are available locally, industrial development is impossible.

Despite the shortage of rain, Libya is extremely fortunate in having vast reserves of underground fossil water. These are located in the Sebha and al-Khalij regions, particularly in the Murzuk.

Kufrah and Sarir basins. They have formed the basis of Libya's recent strides in agriculture and, although fears have been expressed about abuse of such a precious resource, it seems that these fossil reserves will be exploited to their maximum in the future.

In addition to water, two other vital raw materials have vitally influenced regional planning. Oil is self-evidently one, for it was the discovery of oil in the 1960s and its exploitation that made the desert south of the Gulf of Sirte into a major economic zone. More recently, the mining of immense deposits of iron ore at Brak, close to Sebha, and the discovery of uranium close to Libya's border with Chad, has spurred increased developmental attention to these areas.

The specific locations of such resources in the interior of the country is one of the factors that has most profoundly affected concepts of regional planning recently, as far as areas remote from traditional population centres are concerned. They have made it possible to consider decentralisation of economic activity beyond just those areas where the oil fields are located and away from the Gulf of Sirte coastline, with its oil-based industry. Now the desert can also play an active role in Libya's development.

The background to regional planning

The pre-revolutionary regime paid lip-service to the idea of regional planning and the detailed planning proposals published in 1966 were designed to counter urban drift, as oil caused urban living standards to rise. Attention was to be paid to improving regional living standards and to infrastructural development. However, the really critical fields of productive agriculture and industry received scant attention. In any case, these plans were rejected in 1968 and the Revolution intervened before new plans could be drawn up.

It was only after a detailed review had been completed in 1972 that new regional plans were prepared. These had had to take into account the piecemeal development projects already underway in industry and agriculture. Industry had to follow the pattern dictated by existing refinery and petrochemical plant. Agriculture was restricted by lack of water resources to the coastal regions of the Jabal al-Akhdar and the Jefara plain. The only variation in this pattern was the Kufrah project, then under development, to create 10,000 hectares of fertile land in the desert by the use of fossil water reserves. The difficulties inherent in this type of project were to be made clear in 1973, as the Kufrah scheme came into operation. Fodder yields were low and water demand much higher than expected. As a result, the scheme had to be converted to cereal, rather than fodder, production. All these factors were to dominate the subsequent three-year transitional plan and the 1976-1980 five-year plan that succeeded it.

However, as oil revenues increased after 1973 and 1979, planners began to think ahead to the end of the century. It was clear that concerted regional planning was essential if the Jamahiriya was to successfully settle, supply and employ its anticipated 4.5 to 6.5 million-strong population by the year 2000 AD. Unless action was taken, this population, twice the size of Libya's population today, would be concentrated on the coast and the interior would be completely depopulated.

In 1979 a master plan was drawn up — the National Physical Perspective Plan, or the '2000 Plan'. It was to dictate the general lines development was to follow until the end of the century, at an estimated cost of 103 billion dinars. Detailed development was to be executed through a series of five year plans within the general framework of the master plan.

Both the master plan and the five year plans come under the control of local municipalities and the Secretariat for Municipalities, thus ensuring that a regional perspective will always be kept in view.

The 1981-1985 plan, which forms the first stage of the '2000 Plan', will cost 18,400 million dinars, the equivalent of three years' oil revenues at today's prices, and is to provide an annual growth rate in gross domestic product (GDP) of 9.4%.

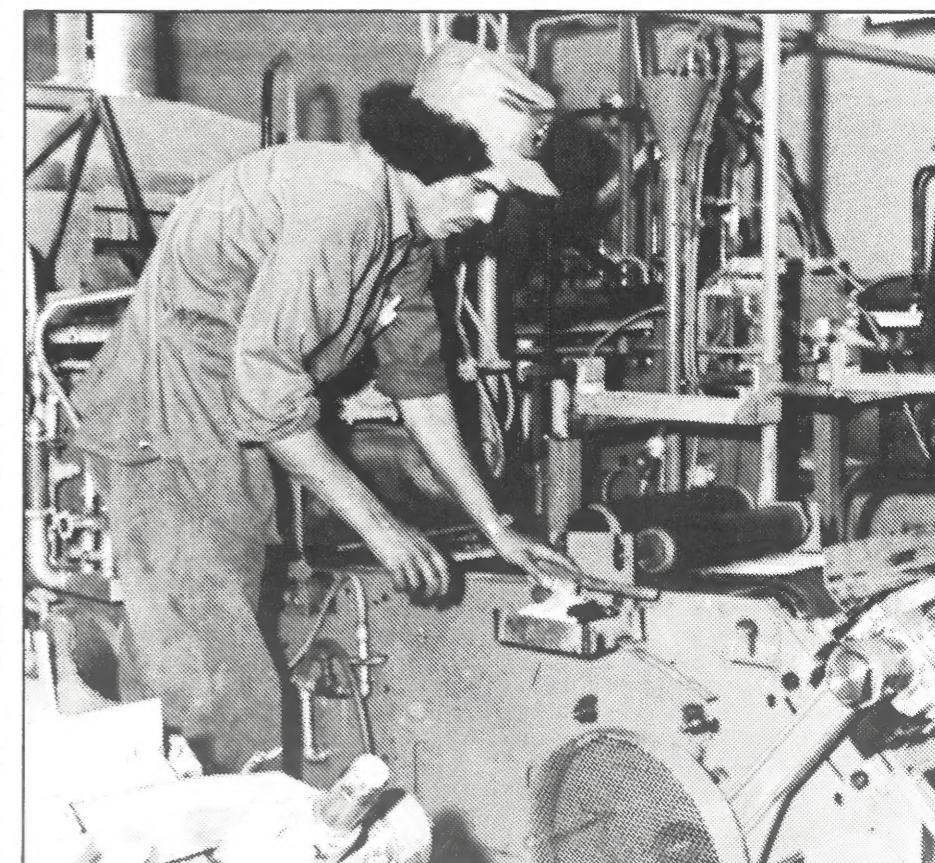
Industry gets 23% of total investment and is expected to grow annually at over 20 per cent, both in major heavy industry projects and in the more diversified general and medium industrial sector. Ten

per cent of total investment will go to reviving coastal agriculture, to reduce Libya's dependence on imported food, at present 60% of all the food she consumes. The costs of the plan will of course be borne by oil revenues — as the result, it is hoped, of increased unit prices, since the plan foresees a 15% drop in production from the currently projected figure of 1.75 million barrels per day (b/d) by 1985. The oil sector then will only provide 47% of Libya's total GDP, for non-oil contributions to GDP are to grow from the current figure of 35% to 53%. The new plan is highly ambitious when compared to its predecessor, where the growth rate in GDP was only 7%, but oil revenues have risen. Problems may come from Libya's ability to absorb the massive inputs she proposes.

Agriculture

The pattern that regional development in agriculture will follow is clear. The 170,000 hectares of irrigated land in the Jefara plain and the 40,000 hectares in the Jabal al-Akhdar will be augmented by an additional 66,000 hectares; dry-farming will be extended by a further 350,000 hectares, mainly in the Gulf of Sirte. There will also be a massive increase of 1.5 million hectares in pastures.

In addition to these developments, there will be a massive expansion of irrigated agriculture through the use of fossil water in other parts of the Sebha and al-Khalij regions. Schemes similar to the Kufrah scheme have already begun in Sarir and Sebha (Maknoussa) and these are to be extended. The 1981-1985 plan foresees the



Light industry is the first stage of industrialisation



Food processing plant in the Jamahiriya: self sufficiency in food is a major aim of Libyan planning

► Kufrah scheme being extended by a further 10,000 hectares while 200,000 hectares of new irrigated land are to be developed in the Sarir basin at Tazerbo.

These desert schemes serve a double purpose. They are considered to be the only way in which Libya can hope to attain food self-sufficiency in a reasonable time, despite the massive costs — land reclamation in Kufrah, for example, costs 10,000 dollars per hectare. In addition they also provide a way of retaining a local population in what are otherwise remote and inhospitable inland areas. By 2000 AD Libya's rural population will number 1.1 million people and will provide a rural workforce of 200,000, 50% more than today's figure. Although the majority will live in the fertile coastal regions, a significant minority will stay in the oases of the Fezzan and the al-Khalij, at Kufrah and Sarir. Sarir, for instance, will require a population of 200,000 to ensure that its schemes are fully operational.

Industry

The other major concern of regional planners has been industrial development. This major industrial sector has to be based on oil and petrochemicals, for oil is the most important national resource, both as an industrial raw material and as an export commodity. Libya earned 4,510 million dinars in 1979 and an estimated 6,500 million dinars in 1980 from oil. The fact that the contribution of oil to GDP is to fall means that petrochemicals and refined petroleum products will have to become an important source of alternative export earnings.

Oil and oil-related activities are almost exclusively located in the al-Khalij region, a region which dominates Libya's economy as a result. Within the region itself, oil provides 98 per cent of GDP and the region as a whole provides 97 per cent of Libya's total GDP. All this wealth is generated in the oil fields and the coastal processing centres of Marsa Brega, Ajadabiah, Sirt and Ras Lanuf, with a small contribution

coming from the agricultural sites at Kufrah and Sarir. The importance of oil-related industry has meant that the al-Khalij coast has acquired all the characteristics of an integrated petrochemicals industrial sector. Marsa Brega has a 10,000 b/d refinery, with an associated natural gas plant, a methanol complex and an ammonia/urea plant which started operations in 1980. The new centre of Ras Lanuf contains the most important petrochemicals development. An ethylene complex to produce up to 52,000 tonnes per year is under construction. A new refinery there, once completed, will handle 220,000 b/d and another chemicals complex will take its feedstock from Misrata.

Demography and settlement

The basic concern behind all of Libya's regional planning is demography. Fully five-sixths of Libya's population will be urbanised by the end of the century and, without regional planning, it would be forced into the overcrowded districts around Tripoli and Benghazi. To overcome this the proposed future urban growth pattern in the '2000 Plan' encourages settlement in the interior and along the Gulf of Sirte. Tripoli's population is expected to reach almost two million and Benghazi will reach the seven hundred thousand mark. New urban centres in the Sirte region will relieve the pressure on Benghazi and Tripoli, with new towns around Misrata, Ras Lanuf, Marsa Brega and Ajadabiah. Agricultural development in the Benghazi plain and the Jabal al-Akhbar will disperse settlement around Benghazi itself. Development along the southern flank of the Jabal will link in to Derna and Tobruk, making them into more important urban sectors.

The major developments will come in the al-Khalij region interior. The expanded schemes at Sarir and Kufrah will provide a new north-south settlement axis, running down from Ajadabiah, while in the Sebha region, settlement patterns will link the region to Tripoli. These two new axes will, it is hoped, ensure that a significant proportion of the population will continue to live in the interior. Unless such population dispersal is achieved, Libya will become merely a southern Mediterranean littoral state and she will lose her links with Africa south of the Sahara. It is this factor which is perhaps the most important for the future, for, without easy access to the huge potential markets of Africa, Libyan development might face a bleak future.

A 400 km long double pipeline has been proposed to run from Sarir to Marsa Brega. There it will split to Ras Lanuf and Sirte, and to Ajadabiah, dividing its annual two million cubic metres of water between the al-Khalij coastal region and

the Benghazi region. The ability to interconnect resources between regions is clearly essential, for without this ability, much of Libya's development would have to come to a stop.

The Saudis cut production because the price for Saudi crude was being forced under the level of \$32 a barrel which is the lowest even they will accept. The glut they have created is designed to help the USA and to create problems for three countries which have fought hardest for fair oil prices — the Libyan Jamahiriya, Algeria and Nigeria. In August, at the OPEC Ministerial meeting in Geneva, the Saudis refused to agree with other oil producers that production should be co-ordinated to allow a posted price of \$35 a barrel. Adding the premium paid for African crudes like Libya's would have brought the Libyan price to \$39-\$40 a barrel — Libya's current posted price.

In his speech to the Tripoli rally celebrating the twelfth anniversary of the Libyan revolution, Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi sharply criticised Saudi policy. 'The reduction in the price of Arab oil benefits America,' he said. America wanted the international market flooded with oil in order to bring pressure to bear on countries like Libya, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates to fall in line with US policies in the region. But, Qadhafi pointed out, it was Nigeria which had suffered most from the price squeeze to the point where it could no longer meet its internal commitments. 'This is because it cannot sell its oil in view of the cheap Saudi oil and the market glut; it is this which has prevented others from buying Libyan oil at \$40 a barrel,' the Libyan leader declared. This was in the interests of America and the Zionists, he pointed out.

Recent weeks have seen a press campaign of exaggeration and inaccuracies, with the evident intention of persuading world opinion that Libya's reduced oil production will have the effect of both slowing its development programme and limiting its independence of action abroad.

Most persistent in falsifying the situation has been the London weekly *The Economist*. On 5th September, and again on 12th September, the journal claimed that Libyan production was down to as low as 600,000 barrels a day, and that revenues had therefore slipped from \$22 billion to \$7 billion annually. The figures for current production and revenue are plucked from thin air: *The Economist* also invented a figure for proposed expenditure under the Jamahiriya's 1981-85 Development plan — \$70 billion. The actual figure is \$62.5 billion. 'A ministerial committee is feverishly trying to work out a series



Zawiyah refinery: Libya will continue to diversify its economy despite the world slump

Libya can weather the storm

AGAINST THE background of a series of reports in the western press predicting the collapse of the Libyan economy due to the current glut of oil on world markets, there is confidence in Tripoli that the Jamahiriya's economy will remain strong. There are no prospects for major development cut-backs, as Phil Kelly explains.

of budget cuts,' the journal claimed. No doubt when *The Economist* gets round to reporting the accurate figure for the development plan, it will describe it as 'cut from the previous \$70 billion.'

Susan Morgan, writing in *The Observer* on 6th September, started with the old State Department myth that Libya is an international troublemaker. She claimed that 'Libya spends many millions bank-rolling revolutions throughout the world,' and implied that this 'burden' would have to be shed in the light of reduced oil revenues. Libya does contribute to national liberation movements, but it is a small sum indeed compared to the outlays on creating an industrial base for the Jamahiriya.

Domestic economy

At home, Libya seems unlikely to have cash flow problems. Underspending of planned development budgets has been a major problem in the past. Jedouri Azouri Talhi, the Secretary to the General People's Committee, told the General People's Congress in January 1980 that the country had entered the final year of the 1976-80 Development plan 'with overdue projects worth 1,600 million Libyan dinars [\$5.5 billion]. This means that the workforce is exhausted, and we have undertaken tasks beyond our powers,' he said.

In an interview with *8 Days* magazine

on 6th September, Rajeb Missellati, Governor of the Jamahiriya's Central Bank, outlined the measures which could be taken to make sure that the drop in oil revenue would have minimal effects on the economy:

□ 'Of course if we are facing a temporary cash flow problem, we will resort to our reserves. Isn't that what reserves are for?' he said. Official reserves are estimated at \$14 billion;

□ Commercial banks in Libya have an estimated three billion Libyan dinars (\$10 billion) in savings which has not been tapped for investment;

□ Libya could borrow easily on the international capital market; commercial loans were estimated at as low as \$686 last year, and Libya is abundantly creditworthy, with oil supplies lasting until well into the next century;

□ Tighter tax collection could yield considerably more revenue.

Ironically, the appreciation of the dollar against other trading currencies enhances Libya's international buying power. Helen Junz, oil economist at Townsend Greenspan, a consulting firm, said the big increase in OPEC's purchasing power resulting from weakened West European currencies is largely offsetting the cuts in output made by some producers,' the *International Herald Tribune* reported on 29th August. Ms Junz estimated that Libya's purchasing power had risen by 21.4 per cent. Mr Missellati estimates that because the Italian lira has dropped so sharply against the dollar, Libya's purchasing power overall has risen by more than 29 per cent. *Italy is Libya's principal trading partner.

The ramifications of the economic campaign became clearer with the announcement that Saudi Arabia was to supply Italy with 200,000 barrels a day, after a gap of twenty months. In August, ENI of Italy stopped lifting crude from its Libyan concessions. 'Although Italy's move was generally ascribed to Tripoli's high prices, it has been generally interpreted as part of NATO's strategy to isolate the Libyan regime,' *8 Days* reported on 18th September.



The campus of Gar Younis University in Benghazi

Finland boosts trade in education sector

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is engaged in a major expansion of opportunities for vocational and higher education, designed to overcome the shortages of skilled manpower that pose a severe constraint on the country's overall development programme. Finnish firms have played an important role in expanding Libya's educational facilities, and in recent weeks have won further major contracts.

In September it was reported that the Light Industry Secretariat had awarded the OMP Consortium a \$9 million contract to build three vocational training centres, to be sited at Beida, Shahat and Marsa Susa. The consortium, which has already completed a \$20 million dairy project in the Beida area, is reportedly negotiating for the construction of a fourth training centre and a clinic.

Another vocational training centre is under construction by Finland's Makrotalo at Bani Walid, 200 kilometres south east of Tripoli, and in September it was announced that the firm expects the project to be completed next April. Under contracts with a combined value of \$55 million, Makrotalo is also building staff housing complexes at four separate development projects in the Jamahiriya.

In late August it was disclosed that the Finnish firm Are has a two-year, \$9 million contract to maintain electrical, plumbing and air conditioning systems at Tripoli's Al Fateh University.

Are's other work in the Jamahiriya includes the provision of site electricity supplies at the Ras Lanouf petrochemicals complex, and instrumentation and electrical installation at the Oasis Oil Company's desert oil camps.

Vehicle manufacturing gears up to meet demand

LIBYAN LEADER Muammer Qadhafi officially opened the Jamahiriya's first tractor assembly plant on 2nd September, as part of the celebrations marking the twelfth anniversary of the Revolution. Located at Tajoura, some 20 kilometres east of Tripoli, the LD 10 million plant has an annual production capacity of between 3,000 and 5,000 tractors, depending on the number of shifts worked.

The Italian Calabrese concern is establishing a truck body and trailer assembly plant near the bus and truck plant, and this is reportedly on the point of starting operations.

The vehicle assembly plants are being set up as part of the Jamahiriya's long-term programme to reduce her dependence on foreign suppliers. One of the major projects in the current five-year plan is a car assembly plant, and approaches have already been made to manufacturers in West Germany, Japan and Britain.

Rapidly rising incomes in Libya,

coupled with the country's ambitious development programmes, have led to soaring demand for passenger cars and commercial vehicles. Recent statistics from the Tripoli Chamber of Commerce show that by the end of last year there were a total of 606,674 vehicles in the Jamahiriya. 372,860 were private cars, averaging out at one for every five Libyans. Recently

entered operation and will soon be officially opened. The venture was set up and will be run by the Libyan Truck Company, created in December 1976, with a capital of LD 12 million — 75 per cent put up by Libya and the rest by Fiat (which in turn is about 13 per cent owned by the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank). Construction of the ultra-modern plant began in 1977 and is now virtually complete, the outstanding work not having prevented start-up.

Initially, the bus and truck plant will confine its activities to assembling imported Fiat parts, but the hope is that between 20 and 25 per cent of parts will eventually be manufactured in the Jamahiriya. By 1985 trucks from the Tajoura plant should be meeting about 12 per cent of Libyan demand, and buses about one quarter.

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LIBYA'S FIRST turkey farm was opened on 9th September by Mr Bashir Jawda, Secretary for Land Reclamation and Agrarian Reform.

Comprising four pens with an annual production capacity of 40,000 birds, the project is part of a long-term plan to establish 129 turkey farms with an annual output of almost two million turkeys — the equivalent of more than 12 million kilograms of meat per year.

September also saw the start of work on a major new integrated poultry production project at Aziziyyah, one of the largest yet launched in the Jamahiriya.

The scheme aims at producing 5 million tonnes of poultry meat and 6.5 million hatching eggs per year.

In addition to slaughter houses and cold storage facilities, the new project will have its own poultry feed mill, with a capacity of 11 tonnes per hour.

The increasing number of agro-industrial schemes in the Jamahiriya has been accompanied by an expansion in the country's feed milling capacity. The latest animal feed plant, described by the Jamahiriya news agency JANA as the largest in Africa, was opened in Tripoli on 3rd September, as part of the celebrations marking the twelfth anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution.

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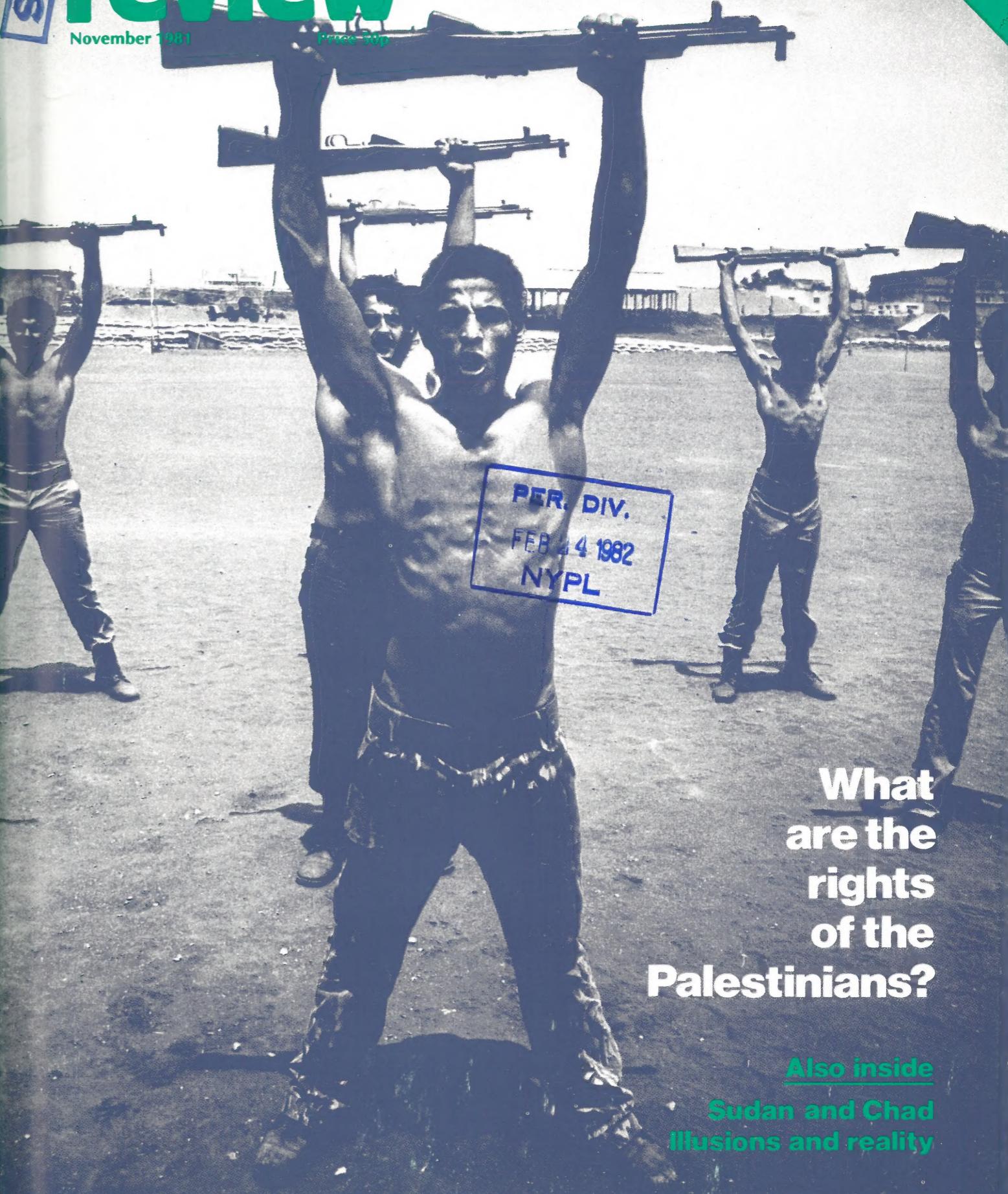
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